



THE CITS.

The Improved Capitalist Municipal Party of New York.

BRAZEN FRANKNESS.

The Upper Capitalists, Who Beat Tammany Last Time, Set up this Year Again Their Attitude Towards Labor—Although the Workers are the Overwhelming Majority a Tiny Representation is Allowed them, and Ambulances Hospitals and Potter's Fields are the Best Things that are Promised.

The present city of New York—the Greater New York—is not only the capitalist metropolis of the nation, it is also the condensed nation itself. What here happens in the economic and political field is a condensed edition of what either is going on in the country at large, or will be shortly going on there too. In view of this, the pending Mayoralty campaign in this city is everything but a local affair; it is a national contest. It is now casting its heavy shadows before it, and these are worth studying.

We have had three years of "Reform." The open ulcer of Tammanyism was put aside; in its place we have had the covered ulcer of the "polished" capitalists themselves in the rôle of active politicians. The revolution herein implied is one that is going on elsewhere in the country. The politician class, to whom the capitalist class has to pay blackmail for impunity in its factory and other branches of the law against the workers, is fought by the capitalist class, which wishes to save for itself the bribe it has to pay to the politicians. In this fight the New York City capitalists were successful three years ago, and thus Tammany was suppressed.

This year the victorious class of '94 must win again lest it lose all it gained. How to go about it? The tactics it is resorting to should be noted by the whole country; everywhere else these tactics are bound soon to be seen trotted forth.

It goes without saying that without the labor vote our "washed" capitalists can accomplish nothing; this vote has to be lured into their political trap; the bait used in all such cases is that of promises to improve the condition of the workers. Upon these promises the New York "washed" capitalists won last time; since then they have been three years in power; it will not do to simply make promises this year; they have to show some of the good things they have done for the workers in this interval. That is just what they are now straining at; and to their performances on this head it is that attention deserves to be called.

The first thing that these "Citizens'" Union reformers plume themselves upon with the workers is to have "given labor recognition" in the reformers' council. New York is a city with fully 85 per cent. of working people. Now mark the "recognition" that labor has received at the hands of the "reformers." To use their own language: "We have 16 labor men on our committee of 250; this is a very large representation to give the working class"!!! Sixteen out of a total of 250, despite the overwhelming majority of the working class in the city. Even if these 16 were really representative workmen, and not a handful of picked queers like Weissmann, White, Tombleson, Thimme, etc., the percentage of representation allowed to labor is significant; it reveals quite clearly the share that these "reformers" hold belongs to labor at the nation's political banquet.

The second feather with which the "reformers" are strutting before the workers is, if anything, still more significant. A committee of reformers is going about the workingmen's district giving stereopticon lectures. On the canvass are thrown the pictures of the blessings that "reform" has bestowed upon the workers. What may these blessings be? Higher wages? Enforcement of factory laws? No, and no again. The blessings are—"IMPROVED AMBULANCES," in which the workers, maimed by the breaches of factory laws committed by the "reformers," can be conveyed to IMPROVED HOSPITALS, to be there practised upon by whippersnapper medical students, and from where, if these students fail to cure, the workers are conveyed to IMPROVED POTTER'S FIELDS. Verily, improved "ambulances," "hospitals," and "potter's fields" are blessings that labor should be proud of receiving! How significant is not this brazen frankness!

The "Citizens'" political movement has for labor no greater solicitude than it has for the horses, cats and dogs of the capitalist pirates who run it. If horses, cats and dogs had a vote their vote would be counted with promises of laws to prevent cruelty to animals. Surely no master would think of doing anything for these beings on any theory other than that they are animals, and must remain animals. Likewise, when they consider the workers, they proceed upon no theory other than that they are there to be fleeced, ridden and used, but that, since these workingmen animals, unfortunately, still have a vote, they must be promised and given good stables and the like—but never to be thought of as human beings, the children of the Nineteenth Century, with powers, rights and capabilities equal to any other.

A SOLID LINK.

The First Socialist Section of Farmers Formed Through Hard Blows.

SOULEVILLE, Neb., June 2.—With this month begins the second year of the existence of Section Souleville. Its history is well worth this little sketch.

We have had to stand and have stood all sorts of tests, and more especially during the last six months the condition of the Section was very critical; it looked as though dissolution was unavoidable, but things improved gradually; the end of this period of transition has now been reached.

The Section has lost in size but gained in solidarity, and within the next three months we shall succeed in unloading all Socialists in name, free silver and would-be Socialists.

In order to get rid of these so-called members, it was resolved at the last meeting that the secretary notify all members over four months in arrears to pay their dues or inform the Section as to the cause of their non-payment, those not complying to be dropped from the roll.

Since there never before was a Section composed exclusively of farmers, we can regard Section Souleville as an exception to a rule, or as an important step forward towards Socialism.

We certainly can regard the Section as a link in the chain that has stood the test and upon which we can depend in the future. Although farmers, and as such compelled to participate in exploitation under the present system, our members, as clear-headed Socialists, conscious of the aims of the movement, can welcome the downfall of the present order of society.

During this year facts have shown the correctness of the theory that the economic development tends to force men toward Socialism when all other means fail, because the members of our Section, though intelligent men, belong to the lower strata of the middle class, and are almost on the very borders of the working class or proletariat.

This is a fact that should be well kept in mind by all Comrades, so that no time will be wasted in trying to preach Socialism to well-to-do farmers, as that would be throwing pearls to swine, but where the current of economic development washes the ground from under the farmer, there it is time to begin.

IN FORT WAYNE.

Recklessness of Capitalist Politicians—Greed of Baker Bosses.

FORT WAYNE, Ind., June 8.—A frightful accident threw the inhabitants of our town into consternation on the 24th of last month, and took from four already sufficiently straitened families their breadwinner and support.

A number of workingmen were busy on the Lakeside laying water pipes under the superintendence of the Inspector of Waterworks. In the course of their work they dug a ditch and were just engaged in broadening and deepening the same, when one of them suddenly noticed that the land began to slide. He gave the alarm, and the men, with the exception of four, managed to run away. The others remained buried alive.

The fearful misfortune that has so heavily struck the families of the four victims is the direct result of the recklessness or unconscionable conduct of the inspector, a conduct that may truly be branded as criminal. It is incredible how any one, charged with the superintending of this work, could allow so deep and narrow a ditch to be dug on such weak ground without the precaution of shoring up the walls; such an act can have been committed only by that scourge of the Fort Wayne workers, Iten, a man with the soul of a slave driver.

There are witnesses who declare to have heard the workmen raise loud protests against going to work in the ditch, and to have pointed to the imminent danger, but this notwithstanding, they were ordered by Iten to go to work.

The question now is, Will the Coroners' inquires submit the accident to a thorough examination, and call the guilty politicians to account?

Another event took place on the 24th of May that should be noted. On that day, upon order of their union, all the bakers in the city laid down their work because the bosses refused to pay union wages. The union scale of wages demands \$13 a week for the foreman, \$12 for the first and \$11 for the other journeymen. The union also establishes that 10 hours shall constitute a work day, and overtime shall be paid for extra. The bakers also demanded that only one apprentice shall be allowed to each shop, and that he must be discharged before others are laid off. All these demands met with strenuous opposition on the part of the bosses. Neither side would yield, and the result was the present strike.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

A WARNING

Against the Duodecimo Edition of the New Jerusalem, Known as the "Debs Plan".

Fellow Tollers:—The conditions by which we are confronted may well appall us. Starvation threatens us in the midst of the plenty which our labor has produced, but which we do not possess. Every increase of productive power serves but to heighten the sufferings of our class. With instruments of production at hand whose output might be made to satisfy every conceivable need of human wellbeing, with arms ready to work them, yet are the avenues of labor barred to us, while we halt in impotent idleness. In our desperation we are assailed with contemptible gibes, called the unfit, taunted as shiftless, lazy, drunken beggars.

We are to-day a disheveled class, in abject dependence upon that other—the capitalist class, which is in absolute and arrogant possession of our common heritage, the land and machinery, the instruments of production and distribution. Through control of these they are the masters of our very lives. The wage scrap they proffer when wanting our labor is measured by the necessities of our fellows, competing with us for a chance to exist. All that we produce is theirs. When our labor has filled their storehouses to overflowing, we are turned over to starve, while they seek new markets in which to realize on that which they have filched from us. They are mere gamblers in our products. The fruits of our labor are squandered in the vain extravagances, the sensual debaucheries with which they flaunt our miseries.

Such conditions cannot endure. Self-preservation demands that we gain possession of these instruments of production, that they may be freely used for the satisfaction of human needs, and not monopolized for the gratification of individual greed.

For this end is the Socialist Labor party organized. It represents in America that organized international movement which, throughout the world, stands boldly, uncompromisingly face to face with capitalism. It aims to arouse the working class to an intelligent consciousness of its rights and power; to give cohesion and strength to its efforts to give direction to its aspirations by making clear its mission in the development of humanity.

Socialism is not a theory. Socialism is not a plan that is to be set in operation apart from or outside of the existing organization of society. Socialism is that growth, that logical development out of present conditions, which must result when through their experience and sufferings, the workers realize the cause of their subjection as a class to that class which possesses the instruments of production; when they learn to know and feel their distinct class interests; when they awaken to a sense of their overwhelming power; when they assert that power in their own interests, achieve their emancipation, and thereby end the dominance of class.

Imperfect comprehension of this fundamental distinction explains the frequency with which well-meaning persons, aroused by their sympathies to zeal for your betterment, propose elaborate schemes, "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem," which they seek to have realized experimentally as object lessons for your instruction. But progress moves of necessity within the limits of existing conditions. These plans, by the very attempt to escape conditions, deprive themselves of the vital forces which are shaping the development of society. Their failure is therefore inevitable.

But the capitalist press eagerly exploits these futile schemes, foreordained to failure. It points to them as examples of Socialism put in practice. It widely heralds their breakdown. Brings their failures as the failure of Socialism, and holds them up for the discouragement of your just aspirations.

Blind to the limitations of such efforts, untaught by the experience and failures of the past, some men to whom you have looked for leadership and guidance, distrustful of your own strength, are to-day offering you, "in the name of Socialism," another of these schemes into which society is to be made to fit.

For this reason it becomes necessary for the Socialist Labor party to emphatically repudiate all such plans, its duty to warn you earnestly of their futility, lest in your extremity you should grasp at this wisp of straw.

These people have dragged you through the wilderness of Populism into the slough of silver, and now by a mirage of false hopes they would lead you into a thorny desert of utopianism.

They are seriously proposing to you a scheme of migration, for the conquest of the political machinery of one of the smaller States, whereupon a full-fledged co-operative commonwealth is to be established therein.

Be not deluded by the vain hope that the capture of some out of the way corner of capitalist government will provide an adequate haven of refuge. Capitalism and a thorough co-operative commonwealth could not exist side by side under one government. They are irreconcilable and mutually destructive. The necessities of capitalism would compel it to use the higher power of the national government, which it would still control, for the repression of your efforts within the limits of mere makeshift palliatives. See how to-day it even stoops to crush out the vestiges of the old communal life among the Indian tribes.

With its development hemmed in by the judicial and military powers of gov-

ernment—the political arm of capitalism—the new commonwealth must at the same time encounter the whole economic power of capitalism, cannot escape that fierce conflict in which today whole nations are bankrupted.

What chance would it have in such a struggle! On one side, capital thoroughly equipped with all the forces of modern production. On the other, a little community without capital, absolutely without equipment for the struggle. Who can doubt the outcome? Yet those who propose to you such grotesque and tragic folly would have you believe that they alone are practical—all others theoretical dreamers.

They would ask us to abdicate our right to the wealth we have already created, to abandon to the capitalist that perfected equipment for production which is ours by right. They would counsel us to seek success in flight, and set up our commonwealth in a corner. No wonder the capitalist looks on and laughs.

The Socialist Labor party warns you against the commission of such a folly. Keep clear of this movement, which appeals to your discontent rather than your intelligence, and can end only in disaster and discouragement. At this stage of the conflict we can afford to make no false moves.

There can be no solution which is not commensurate with the conditions. To be a success, the co-operative commonwealth must be practically self-contained, self-sufficient; and that it cannot be on less than a national scale. Such is the inter-dependence, so interwoven are all parts of the modern industrial system, so closely does the world-wide process of exchange touch every moment of our lives, that IT IS PRACTICAL TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE WHOLE THAN A PART.

Out of these conditions the true co-operative commonwealth must grow. It will not abandon them. It will utilize that basis of co-operative production which is developing within capitalism itself, while at the same time changing its character through co-operative ownership of the instruments of production.

The realization of that co-operative ownership must be the goal of our efforts. The road to it is straight. There are no short cuts. Fifty years ago Marx and Engels raised the banner of international Socialism and blazed the way, proclaiming that "THE FIRST STEP in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest "all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletarian organized as the ruling class."

The working class is already an overwhelming majority, and needs but the confidence to assert itself. It is the only class which is growing in strength, recruited by the disintegration of the middle class through the concentrative forces of capitalism.

Unite, then, with the Socialist Labor party, which stands boldly for your class interests at the polls. Use your ballots as weapons for the conquest of your liberties, for the assertion of that supremacy which should be yours.

Why, when you resort to such economic schemes you are little better than an unarmed mob. You are attacking capitalism on its own ground, in its strongest citadel. Capital can afford to be amused.

But when, conscious of your power, you vote the Socialist ballot, you attack it at the most vulnerable point. In the political field you meet it as an equal; yes, as its master. Here is the natural training ground for the class-conscious organization of your forces. The growth of the Socialist vote is the measure of your progress, every increase a step towards the realization of your purpose.

The Socialist Labor party does not seek your support through fake promises, or by raising vain hopes. Your emancipation must be the work of your own hands. Seek not after leaders. Let the necessities of your class be your guide, the advancement of your class your one endeavor.

Join with us in the effort to wrest the capitalist class that possesses the instruments of production which is the secret of our enslavement as a class. Back of us is the proletariat of the world, organizing in the struggle against international capitalism. Their progress is our progress. In their victories we shall conquer. Socialism is the one intelligent power whose growth is the terror of capitalism. LET ITS FEARS TEACH YOU WHERE TO STRIKE.

On to the polls for your emancipation!

Strike with the ballot for control of the means of life!

Vote for the Socialist Revolution!

SECTION CHICAGO, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

McKinley pictures begin to be torn down in the factories by angry workingmen who last November voted for him in the confidence that he would bring about prosperity. This would seem progress, provided these same men do not turn around and vote for Bryan or Bryanism next time, whereupon they will have another picture to tear down for their pains.

McKinley or Bryanism both stand for lower wages.

IS LABOR A CRIPPLE?

The Labor Fakir's Reason For His Existence, Salary, Job and Drunks.

A Home Run.—Trade unions, relatively speaking, are to labor what crutches are to the legless man. The vile cur who says trade unions are no good, would rob a cripple of his means of locomotion.—Cigarmakers' Journal.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7.—The above is a clipping from a local "pure and simple" sheet which could very well fatten the logic and acumen of such an assinine defense of "pure and simpleism." With it, though, it is not necessary to deal; an examination of the statement or statements contained in the clipping will do.

So labor is legless! That mighty part of humanity, that according to Gompers, McKinley, McGuire, Bryan and Lennon, produces all our wealth, and is entitled to its just (?) share, the power that makes the world go round is a "cripple and needs crutches!" At last we are aware of the cause of the tender solicitude and watchful care in behalf of labor displayed by the gentlemen referred to. We can now feel assured that we are not the great and mighty force we were said to be. It is not so; we are a lot of mutilated unfortunate, who need crutches. Crutches cost money; they need repairing, especially their throats—if they have such a thing—and the one who says we are not cripples, maimed and unfortunate, is a cur!!! (Please roll the "r.") It is simply awful.

All our expectations of one day achieving our salvation will now disappear in thin air. How can a cripple achieve anything without crutches? We must have them even if we lose an arm, and the man who says we are not cripples, and do not need crutches, is a cur.

There can be no solution which is not commensurate with the conditions. To be a success, the co-operative commonwealth must be practically self-contained, self-sufficient; and that it cannot be on less than a national scale. Such is the inter-dependence, so interwoven are all parts of the modern industrial system, so closely does the world-wide process of exchange touch every moment of our lives, that IT IS PRACTICAL TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE WHOLE THAN A PART.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

**Take heart! The promised hour draws near—
I hear the downward beat of wings,
And Freedom's trumpet sounding clear:
Joy to the people!—woe and fear
To new-world tyrants, old world Kings!"**

Whittier.

THE PATRIA CLUB.

Our ruling class claims the right to rule on the ground that it has superior intellect. What this superiority amounts to may be judged from the utopian, rainbow chasing, horse-by-the-tail restraining efforts they are putting forth to keep the people from leaping off the tracks of the present social system. We have enumerated several of these attempts in previous issues. The plan of the Patria Club is the latest that has come to our notice—nor is it the less silly.

The Patria Club is an organization of leading fleecers of labor, who have grown fat under the present industrial dispensation; who fear the fleeces are growing restive, and who have reached the conclusion that the best way to prevent the dire calamity of their having to starve if they don't work is to train the young generation from the kindergarten up to patriotic devotion. In pursuit of this idiotic plan, the Patria Club offered a prize for the best essay outlining a kindergarten course that is expected to clasp the blinkers of patriotism to the eyes of the young, and keep them in the traces when grown and full of wool for the capitalist clip.

The Patria Club is ignorant both in theory and history.

It is ignorant in the theory or the genesis of patriotism when it imagines that the seat of patriotism lies with the fleeces in a section of the human anatomy other than that in which it is located in the anatomy of the fleeces. With the fleeces the seat of patriotism is the stomach. Capitalism fills the capitalist paunch, hence Capitalism is the beloved Fatherland of the fleeces. But the thing that fills the stomach of the capitalist is the very thing that empties that of the proletariat. For the same reason that the capitalist dotes patriotically upon capitalism, the proletariat is bound patriotically to detect the thing with ever deepening detestation, blinkers or no blinkers.

The Patria Club is ignorant of history when it imagines that any amount of blinkers can keep from the head the information imparted to it by the promptings of the stomach. History is full of leading illustrations. If blinkers could do the work of full stomachs Voltaire and Victor Hugo, both brought up in Jesuit Colleges, would have talked to no purpose.

Silly Patria Club!

THE IRISH "PATRIOT" IN AMERICA.
It would seem hard to pick out one nationality of immigrants that produces the vilest specimen of traitors to the immigrants of its own race. And yet hard as the job is, we do not hesitate to pick out the Irish.

Without hardly any exception, the Irish immigrant comes from the down-trodden of Ireland. And yet from among them are seen to rise specimens, who, as soon almost as landed, join here, against their own countrymen, the very class that oppressed them at home.

Of this fact a striking proof is furnished by the conduct of the Irish papers in America. They have set themselves up as the apostles of the down-trodden Irish people, and yet vain have all efforts been to induce any of them to even publish without comment the manifesto of the Socialist Republican party of Ireland. These papers know that their countrymen here of the working class are nothing but voting cattle for the capitalist class, and that the British aristocracy, which they affect to detest, is identical with our own American capitalists—living, to a great extent, on the sweat of the brow of the Irish workers in America. The manifesto of the Irish Socialist Republican party would help to emancipate the Irish voters here. The Irish papers in America aim at nothing less than that.

The conduct of these Irish traitors goes far to prove how capitalism

solders and bonds and poisons in every sense. The only bond of the proletariat is the bond of their class thralldom, Irish and American, German and French, etc., etc., must pull together and march over the prostrate lies of Irish, American, German, French and other nationalities that capitalism exploits.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," reads a good lesson both to the fakers who hurl the epithet of "scab" upon the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and upon the greenies, who, being recent arrivals in the country, and generally very little informed on things here, know not how promiscuously the word "scab" has been hurled by the old trade unions at one another, and tremble when they hear it uttered. The "Citizen" says:

"We fail to understand why the Troy "Advocate" should waste so much of its valuable space in condemning the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The pure and simple combat the contention that politics should be studied in the trades union—the position that is also taken by the capitalists—and therefore if the Socialists desire to withdraw and organize upon political as well as industrial lines, that is their privilege. Moreover, if the latter do organize men and women who have been backsliders in other unions, or even those whom the stern law of necessity forced to scab, which is not generally true, it is better to have them in than out of a union. We would like to have some authority inform us just how strong any national organization now in existence would be if those who at one time had gone wrong, or were members of some other union or assembly, had been debarred from membership."

"Only a few years ago the Knights of Labor claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the laboring people of North America, but that did not prevent the trades union movement from forming. The old railway brotherhoods bitterly fought the organization of the American Railway Union, and yet there never was a grander or more popular order formed on this earth. There are plenty of other precedents that might be cited to add strength to the claims of the S. T. & L. A. for recognition if it were necessary."

If the maxim is correct—and we doubt not but it is—that nothing is beautiful that is not true, then the Cumberland, Md., "Uncle Sam," is not beautiful, being not true, in the following little poetic effusion:

"Tariff for revenue only," they said,
And laughed up their sleeves in stealth.
"Tariff for robbing you only," it read,
"To the men who produced all the wealth."

The prima facie beauty of these rhymes is turned into ugliness by the substantial economic untruth that they suggest.

If a tariff robs, then no tariff must leave the working class unrobbed. But this is false. Tariff or no tariff, the working class is robbed just the same. The robbery perpetrated upon the working class takes place before the "tariff" or "no tariff" has a chance to affect them. They are robbed in the shop. There they are not allowed to keep more than barely a fourth of what they produce. And this is done in free trade as well as tariff shops. What robs the worker is the capitalist upholders—"tariffers" and "no tariffers" alike.

But does not the tariff rob anybody?

Oh, yes; it robs those capitalists who need free trade as the best means to rob the workers. But what is it to us which of the two gangs gets the lion's share or our own hide, if both are engaged in the work of skinning us? Let them fight out their battles among themselves, while we shall fight out our own battle by knocking out both.

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon's" head is evidently not afflicted with jingoistic cobwebs. It declares:

"You may say what you like about the methodical Englishman, the dreamy German, the hot-headed Frenchman, and the calm and canny Scot, but for pure and unadulterated imagination our wide-awake, energetic American certainly deserves the prize. America is truly a land of immensities. Everything is on a grand and colossal scale, but the American powers of imagination are the grandest and most colossal of all. To imagine oneself a freeman, a little sovereign among a nation of sovereigns, when in reality one is but a miserable slave, subject to the whim and caprice of economic despots, requires powers of imagination of the most vivid kind. Yet our pushing, shoving, get-there American is quite equal to the occasion. None can surpass him in blind worship of the mythical goddess of liberty. As a self-sacrificing devotee at the shrine of the dead and departed he stands supreme and unexcelled."

The New York "Evening Post" is learning, or, if that is giving it credit for too much sense, it is becoming cautious in its estimate of the motives that animate the loafer class for whom it speaks.

In commenting upon a speech, recently delivered by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in favor of enlarging our armaments so as to "secure peace in time of peace," and protect the "nation's honor," the "Evening Post" observes with astonishing smartness or astonishing naïveté:

"The fact is that 'in time of peace, prepare for war' is a maxim which now chiefly depends naval contractors and those dependent on them. They are the only class who cannot have too

much preparation for war. Every new battleship that goes to the bottom, or becomes a hulk owing to her fashion being out of date, shows how necessary preparation is."

Thus we have the distinct double admission from this apostle of the gold bug wing of the pharisee-bandit class of capitalists:

First—That the aim of their patriotism consists in making money for themselves; and

Secondly—That their morality lies in creating opportunities for self-enrichment by cheating the Government.

"Tis to be hoped that the "Evening Post" may have some more of these outbursts. Possibly, they may cool some of its ardor to shoot down the working class and hang the Socialists. If the patriotic capitalists, who are to furnish the Government with the guns and the hemp, are apt to cheat it by providing useless goods, it may hap that the "shoot-downs" and the "hangings" are found equipped with better weapons. The patriotic ardor of the most patriotic capitalist is sure to sink several degrees before such thoughts.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Socialist" shows the right comprehension of the situation and the right spirit in this passage:

"All the leading daily papers of the city printed notices of our first appearance last month.

"Of course they are fully cognizant of our position and aims, and realize that the mouse has appeared that is going to work long and hard to gnaw to shreds the capitalist net which has so long bound the proletariat lion in captivity."

W. T. Johnson, in the Lincoln, Neb., "State Journal" says:

"The whole Populist outfit is composed of men who have been unhooked in the competitive struggle and are now trying to get back into the saddle so that they, like the plutocrats, may live by the sweat of other men's brows. The idea of doing justice to the wage slave and lifting him out of his present condition is the thing farthest from the thoughts of Mr. Bryan and his followers, for then these "people's champions" would have to quit talking and go to work. The organizers of the gulf road expect to reap large fortunes from the sale of 'unearned increment' in the shape of town sites along the line. They are merely a lot of schemers who are trying to take advantage of popular dissatisfaction and popular ignorance to make a stake for themselves. Now, as for myself, I would rather pay tribute to a plutocrat than to a small fry capitalist. The Bryan outfit have made no protest against the robbing of labor through rent, interest and profit. They only object to the big fellows doing all the robbing and leaving them to starve or go to work. Please do not mislead your readers into supposing the "Pop" organization is opposed to capitalism."

If "by the whole Populist outfit" Mr. Johnson means the element that ran the Populist party and dictated its policy and program, his observations are sound to the core. Of course, many proletarians helped to swell the ranks of Populism, but they did not give the tone to Populism any more than their fellow wage slaves who are in the protection or free trade or gold camps give the tone to any of these capitalist political concerns. In all such cases the proletariat is used exclusively as food for cannon.

The public is calmly informed by the New York "Tribune," the paper that Greeley founded and Whitelaw Reid confounded, that:

"The Socialistic dream is the imperial distribution of wealth by a central body; but it is only a dream."

Apart from this defective presentation of the aim of Socialism, the statement is interesting in so far as between its lines may be read this view:

"We, capitalists, hold that misery is inevitable; that the working class must stay down; that the capitalist must stay up. It might be very beautiful if these were not; but all attempts to change this is a vain dream. The capitalist system, together with all that it implies, is eternal."

Indeed, this is the opinion of our ruling class, to whatever subdivision—gold, silver, protection, free trade, or "reform"—they may belong. Those who act with them help to uphold their views. Between all of these and the Socialist movement the line is drawn sharp. Socialism denies both the premises and the conclusions of capitalism; it has demonstrated both to be scientifically false; it has battered to pieces the arguments of capitalism; and it is marching victoriously towards the day when, upon the shattered ruins of "eternal" capitalism it will build a commonwealth where capitalist tenets will be hung in museums alongside of the "eternal" thumbscrew and other such "eternal" monstrosities, to be gazed upon as relics of barbarism.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to all organizations of wage-workers in the United States, no matter of what character, to send him copies of all the literature published by them, such as official organs, labor day journals, statutes, leaflets, agitation material, handbills, posters, etc. All such packages will be received free by express companies. Such matter should be addressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, Librarian, State Historical Library, Madison, Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Socialism and Social Reform," "French and German Socialism," also many treatises bearing on economic subjects.

The market, there would be no surplus-value, no dividends, and no interest. Why should they be called money-stealers? Is not interest as "legitimate" a gain as profit? And were not both interest and profit condemned by Church and State and society in the Middle Ages? Having undergone the same history, and originating in the same source—surplus labor—they must be classed alike, birds of a feather.

CAPITAL

Its Definition, Its History, Its Scope.

The term "capital" has been a subject of interminable discussion in the countless treatises on political economy. Are free gifts of nature capital? Is a navigable river part of the "national" capital? And is the knowledge which a railroad president is not even supposed to possess, personal capital? These are some of the profound questions proposed for solution. The economists of the Austrian school, with their unrivaled facility in word-spinning, have enormously added to the immense volume of cobwebs already existing. But strange as it may seem, confusion as to the meaning of the term and as to the essence of the thing "capital" prevails not only among the bourgeois and their professed spokesmen, but even among those who ought to know better. I therefore welcomed the article of A. P. Hazell, reprinted in THE PEOPLE of May 30. But with all respect for this excellent writer, I regret to state that he has not, to my mind, set the matter in as clear a light as it might be done, as it was done by Marx.

Capital is not a material, natural thing, but an historical, social product. So, too, are money and commodities, but neither money nor commodities are capital. They can exist logically without becoming capital, and they have appeared historically before capital. But both commodities and money become capital when they stand, through their owners, in certain social relations, when they go through a certain movement or circuit.

Historically, the circulation of capital grows out of the circulation of commodities.

When the social division of labor is sufficiently advanced, so that men produce mainly or entirely not for their own use but for the use of others, then men are said to produce commodities, and their society is a commodity-producing society. The commodities thus produced must necessarily go through a certain movement or circuit. Producer A, a shoemaker, must sell his product to B, and with the money thus obtained he buys linen from C. The product of A has thus gone through the movement: shoes—money—linen; or: commodity—money—commodity. We begin and end with a commodity, and commodities of like value. The end and aim of the transaction is a useful object, a use-value. The shoes were of no use to the shoemaker, but the linen is. This movement is characteristic of commodities, and is therefore called the circulation of commodities. It existed before capital.

But out of this movement there developed (How? does not now concern us) another and contradictory movement, in which A appears on the market—not with commodities, but with money, in which he comes not as a seller but as a buyer. With his money he buys a commodity in order to sell it again. This movement is represented by the formula: money—commodity—money. It begins and ends with money; and since it begins and ends with qualitatively like things, there can be but one motive in the transaction: the increase of money, the recovering of more value than was given. The formula is therefore: money—commodity—more money. This form of circulation is the circulation peculiar to capital.

We thus see that capital is neither money nor commodities. At one time it is money, at another commodities. It is value changing its form and increasing during the transformation. When money and commodities have gone through this characteristic movement they are—capital. We must, however, bear in mind that capital first appears on the market in the shape of money.

We have assumed throughout that there is no cheating done, that value is exchanged for value, equivalent for equivalent. Whence, then, does the increase of value come? It can arise only in one way. The owner of money buys in the market a peculiar commodity, a commodity that is itself the source of all value. He buys the laborer's labor-power at its value, the cost of its production. He pays the laborer money wherewith to buy food, clothing and shelter. But the laborer can by his labor produce more value than the value of his wages. The surplus-value, or the value produced by the laborer after he has reproduced his wages, goes to the capitalist. Rent, profit, interest, taxes, etc., are all paid out of the surplus-values produced by the laboring people.

We have thus far treated capital only qualitatively. We have learned to know its nature, its peculiar characteristics. But how large must a sum of money be in order to be able to go through the circuit: money—commodity—more money, in order to function as capital? Obviously, it is different in different industries. In coal mining one must have more money than in the clothing industry. But it also differs in different epochs. At any time a definite minimum amount of money is necessary in order to circulate as capital. This minimum amount is greater today than it was thirty years ago, and is constantly increasing. It is this tendency of the minimum to increase that is ruining the small producer, that is driving him down into the ranks of the proletariat. Hence his vain howling against aggregations of capital.

We are now in a position to inquire into a few special cases. The big shopkeeper is a capitalist like the big manufacturer. But the small shopkeeper, like the small manufacturer, is not a capitalist in the strict sense of the term. In modern society he is out of place, an anachronism, a survival of the age of small production. Doomed to extinction, the sooner he disappears the better it will be for himself and for society. At present he is a victim of the big capitalists, and yet he serves them as a weapon against the proletariat. Even State Comptroller Roberts knows this, and therefore he pleads the cause of the middle-class and proposes the inheritance tax nostrum to stave off the day of its total collapse.

On the other hand, the shareholder in a corporation is a capitalist in the strictest sense of the word. To be sure, he neither buys labor nor sells commodities. What does it matter? There are those who do these things for him. The same is true of the banker or money lender. If they had no capital, and if there were no "free" laborers in

the market, there would be no surplus-value, no dividends, and no interest. Why should they be called money-stealers? Is not interest as "legitimate" a gain as profit? And were not both interest and profit condemned by Church and State and society in the Middle Ages? Having undergone the same history, and originating in the same source—surplus labor—they must be classed alike, birds of a feather.

H. SIMPSON.

New York.

The capers that the New York Jewish Anarchists are cutting are too funny to keep them from our outside readers. These youngsters have decided to take a hand in the decision of who shall represent the national party at the next national convention of the S. T. & L. A., that is to be held in Boston next July 5. We have three excellent candidates: Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland; Arthur Kepp, of Washington, D. C.; and Thomas C. Brophy, of Boston. For none of these can our Jewish Anarchists have any love; each is an outspoken anti-Yakir, anti-Glasgow plan man, and a veritable "rough on reform"—all of which things sit ill on the Anarchist stomach. Nevertheless these worthies have centered their bile on Comrade Brophy, and, with amusing childishness, are calling upon the party membership through the columns of a paper of theirs, the Jewish Anarchist "Forward," to "PURIFY THE PARTY" by voting down Brophy. Why is this thus?

First—Brophy is the party

HISTORY

VIEWED BY A SOCIALIST.

An Address delivered by G. B. Leonard before the Minneapolis Section of the Socialist Labor Party, on April 12, 1897.

I presume most of you have seen the art gallery in the public library building. Those of you who did could not miss noticing a large picture of a strike.

You see afar factories with high smokestacks; men with coarse hands and tired faces pouring out in great numbers. Silent and untold histories of misery are hidden behind the rude cast of features of their countenances. They all rush to the office of the employer. There he comes out and tries to still the passions of the growing crowd. He probably tells them that they have no grievances; that he cannot possibly afford to raise their wages, or to shorten their hours of labor, or right other wrongs. He asks them to go back. The strikers have their spokesman. He argues and lays the case before the employer. In the middle of the crowd there is a woman trying to persuade her husband not to mix up in the affair.

Why this excitement of the crowd? Why this persuasion of the woman? The artist did not fail to answer as well as he could.

Near the entrance to the office, just around the corner, stands a pale and ragged woman. Suffering and uncertainty of what is going to come tomorrow is indelibly impressed on her features. Maybe the landlord will tell them to remove; maybe the grocer will stop their credit. She is motionless. An imploring and at the same time scornful look of condemnation is in her eyes, which are turned upon the "bread-giver." On her right arm she keeps a thin, feeble, slender, puny little child, who clasps its arms around her mother's bare neck. At her feet stands a small girl in short and tattered clothes. She is five or six years old, maybe older than that. Her face has a vivid hue. She knows the pangs of hunger. Sickness has not failed to leave its marks upon her feeble constitution. She looks helpless and frightened. Here you see the workingwoman when a suckling baby, when a child, and when a mother. You see or guess the homes of those on strike.

The cause of the excitement is not to be found in the agitated crowd that is before you. You must go outside of it. You must go to their homes; you must go, perhaps, still further.

In spite of some quite important defects, in the picture, the artist shows that he was more than a painter, who simply conveys on the canvas what strikes his eye. He conveys his thoughts and reasons for the colors he has put on the canvas. In introducing these three figures the artist attempts to give the CONTENTS of his painting. But to understand it fully you must go beyond all colors and figures that are before you.

The method of the Socialist, with regard to things around him and events that make up our histories is that of the artist I have just mentioned. The surface of things and events does not explain them. To understand them you must go to their CONTENTS. You must find the reasons and causes of all the institutions of the past and present, the reason for the change of ideas, beliefs, sentiments, passions, moral and religious conceptions, legal axioms and political institutions.

It is natural to expect that what strikes the eye most should attract our attention and impress our mind most forcibly. It is for this reason that our histories are filled with lengthy accounts of battles, court intrigues, deeds of great generals, kings and priests rather than with a description of the life of our ancestors and the reasons for the changes that have taken place in the mode of living. And if reasons are sometimes given, they usually fail to explain. The peculiar characteristics of some race, the tenacious individuality of devouring fanaticism of another; differences of moral standards and religions; eloquence of orators, politicians and statesmen; the writings of great men; triumph of right over wrong; of justice over injustice; the ascendancy of eternal truth, of the spirit of liberty and progress—these are a few examples of the reasons frequently assigned for historical events and for great changes in society.

"One event is always the son of another, and we must never forget the parentage," was a remark made by a Bechuan chief to Cassal, the African missionary. A Greek philosopher said that all things flow. Shakespeare remarks: "Nothing is but what is not." All three express the same idea, but each succeeding one more clearly than the other. There is nothing in nature that is at a standstill. Every atom of nature moves. Everything in nature is every moment different from what it was a moment before. With every breath we draw we change the substance of our body. You may be surprised if I tell you that your noses do not contain exactly the same elements that they contained just one moment ago, and that in less than five years your noses will be gone. There will not be a single atom in them five years hence that make up their substance at this moment. It is this constant change and motion of matter in our body that makes us breathe, drink and eat; that makes us live and grow, and brings us death.

Society, the system of social relations, is also never at a standstill, and the changes that take place in society have a regularity of development and laws of evolution like everything else in nature.

What are, then, the laws of social evolution? It is in this that the modern Socialist differs from the rest of the world. Not ideas, morals, legal compulsion, increased perception of eternal truth and absolute right and justice, love of freedom, have been the causes of great changes of the past. The social, political and intellectual conditions of each epoch and their continual transformation are to be explained by the forms of production and their changes. Or, as stated by Engels: "Pro-

but between the individual members of the tribe. Rich and poor within the same tribe appear.

What was at this time the political organization of society? There was as yet none, in our sense of the word. The social relations of men to each other were based on their real or supposed kinship. Each man and woman belonged to a clan, tracing their descent from one common ancestor, real or supposed, who was its god-protector. A few clans made up the tribe. They had certain duties towards each other which were regulated by custom and not by written law. An injury to one member was an injury to the whole clan, and the clan and tribe of the injured had the obligation to avenge the wrong committed. There is a chief in each clan, elected by both men and women. In some a woman is elected to chieftainship. The chiefs of the clans make up the council of the tribe, and with a general assembly of all the members of the tribe transact tribal affairs. Such is the political organization among the Indians; such it is among the savages in other places; and such, in general, it was among our ancestors. (See "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan.) Here and there tribes confederate for mutual advantages, tribes of the same stock, related to each other.

There was a time when man wandered in hordes through the thick woods, living on the roots and fruits of trees. There was no family, there was no property, no system of social organization. Men and women lived in promiscuity like other animals. Gradually the laws of natural selection asserted themselves in the fact that a social organization, based on the differences of sex, is established. Brothers and sisters are no more to intermarry. The clan, or, as otherwise known, the GENS, appears. This form of organization is found yet among the savage tribes. It existed among all ancient nations, and traces of them have been impressed on almost every institution of modern times. The members of the clan cannot intermarry. The women are considered as the wives of the male members of the other clans within the same tribe. The husbands are simply guests to the clan. The children belong to the clan of their mother, and through her they trace their parentage. All property is held in common. The fish that is caught, the game that is killed, is the property of the whole clan. No savage starves as long as there is any food in the clan.

With the growth of population the number of these clans grows, and a tribe is formed. The relations within the tribe are similar to those within the clan. All members of the tribe are called brothers. The individuality of each is lost or merged in that of the clan or tribe. When the savage marries, it is his clan that marries; when he has caught some fish, it is the clan that owns it. Land is held in common alongside of other things. In most of the cases the whole clan lives in one house. Where the art of agriculture is known, common granaries keep a supply of grain for a year or two ahead, as a provision in case of dearth. It belongs to the whole clan. Courage, bravery, a kind feeling to each other, a readiness to help and even sacrifice life for each other are characteristics having force of obligation. The savage says: "All who belong to my tribe are my brothers—all others are my enemies." This explains the continuous warfares among the savage tribes. In Judea, Greece and Rome all strangers were enemies. The Latin word "hostis" means both stranger and enemy. We will see later, how this exclusiveness, which the narrow notion of kinship implies, issues in race and class feuds, that are destined finally to break up the tribal organization of antiquity.

The population was scattered in all directions, wherever means of subsistence could easily be procured, usually alongside of rivers, where fish supplied the necessary wants. The place occupied by the tribe was more thickly settled. There is very little division of labor. The only division there was was based on the differences of sex, man tending to hunting and fishing, woman to household affairs and to the raising of children. In Asia where there were animals that could be domesticated, and thus furnish new materials of subsistence, like milk, wool and meat, the first great social division took place, that of tribes who devoted their time to raising flocks, nomadic tribes. This tended to increase the means of subsistence beyond the immediate needs of the tribe, and exchange of products commenced until it became a regular institution. The main article exchanged was cattle, which became such a universal commodity among the Aryan and Semitic tribes that all other things began to be measured in cattle. The Latin word "pecunia," which means money, is derived from the word "pecus," which means small cattle. As result of all this, in course of time grew up a class of merchants and money lenders.

Agriculture is introduced soon afterwards, and the productive powers of man reach a degree that he can produce more than is necessary to sustain him. Captives are no more devoured, or killed, and left to birds of prey, or adopted into the tribe, but are turned into slaves. The surplus above the means of subsistence of the slave goes to the slaveholder.

Cannibalism must have been quite regular among our ancestors, when the means of life were so scanty and uncertain that they had to resort to human flesh for food. Only in the long course of evolution, when the methods of gaining a livelihood have gradually improved to such a degree that man could produce enough to sustain himself, cannibalism dies out. Only then could Christian preachers and promoters of ethical culture expect to get a hearing.

Originally the flocks as well as the slaves are held as the common property of the tribe or larger social group, but with the increase of wealth there is a tendency to make it individual property. How this process of conversion of common flocks into private property of single families took place it is hardly possible to trace. But one thing is certain, that extensive flock-raising and agriculture have helped greatly the breaking up of the old tribal relations.

Woman becomes less and less important in social production and man gets the upper hand. Our modern form of marriage, monogamy, thus rises simultaneously with private property. A great revolution takes place at this stage with the discovery of the art of smelting iron. Mechanical industry is separated from agriculture. Slaves become more numerous, and are driven to fields, mines and whatever little shops could be established. Exchange of commodities becomes a rule. It is carried on not only between different tribes

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With the rise of private property in personal chattels, private property in land begins to develop. A coalescence of several tribes takes place around a hill or near the sea, and a city is established. The steady concentration of wealth gradually breaks up the clans and tribes, which slowly lose their social functions as the disintegration goes on. The members of the tribe, because of the institution of commerce, frequently change their place of residence and migrate to other cities, where they are considered aliens and denied the privilege of citizenship. Their number tends steadily to grow. Society is no longer composed of a homogeneous element. A differentiation into orders and classes appears. With the growth of all these various classes, a new political organization of society is needed, an organization based not on kinship but on territory and property. It becomes a pressing exigency of the moment. The growing opposition of interests between the rich and poor, slaveholders and slaves, landed or money aristocracy and the poorer artisans and peasantry, the patricians and plebeians, the richer and poorer plebeians—in one word, the violent antagonism of classes which springs up in society with the rise and expansion of private property, demands the existence of a power which shall take care that the clashing of these conflicting interests be kept within the limits of "law and order." Such a power is the political state, which we see rising in full bloom in old Athens and Rome, in the Sixth and Seventh Century B.C. and glimpses of which can be seen also in Judea. But since the birth of this power takes place only as a result of the rise of private property, and in the midst of a struggle of classes already existing, the State necessarily becomes an instrument of oppression of the weaker class by the stronger. It becomes the state of the slaveholder, money and landed aristocracy in olden Judea, Rome and Greece, of the feudal lords in the Middle Ages, and of the capitalist class in modern times.

Though the forms of exploitation have changed, and though the forms of government have changed with them, the essence of government has remained at all times the same: to be an instrument of exploitation and oppression of an economically weaker class by the economically stronger. As result of all this, in course of time grew up a class of merchants and money lenders.

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dered in hordes through the thick woods, living on the roots and fruits of trees. There was no family, there was no property, no system of social organization. Men and women lived in promiscuity like other animals. Gradually the laws of natural selection asserted themselves in the fact that a social organization, based on the differences of sex, is established. Brothers and sisters are no more to intermarry. The clan, or, as otherwise known, the GENS, appears. This form of organization is found yet among the savage tribes. It existed among all ancient nations, and traces of them have been impressed on almost every institution of modern times. The members of the clan cannot intermarry. The women are considered as the wives of the male members of the other clans within the same tribe. The husbands are simply guests to the clan. The children belong to the clan of their mother, and through her they trace their parentage. All property is held in common. The fish that is caught, the game that is killed, is the property of the whole clan. No savage starves as long as there is any food in the clan.

With the rise of private property in

personal chattels, private property in land begins to develop. A coalescence of several tribes takes place around a hill or near the sea, and a city is established. The steady concentration of wealth gradually breaks up the clans and tribes, which slowly lose their social functions as the disintegration goes on. The members of the tribe, because of the institution of commerce, frequently change their place of residence and migrate to other cities, where they are considered aliens and denied the privilege of citizenship. Their number tends steadily to grow. Society is no longer composed of a homogeneous element. A differentiation into orders and classes appears. With the growth of all these various classes, a new political organization of society is needed, an organization based not on kinship but on territory and property. It becomes a pressing exigency of the moment. The growing opposition of interests between the rich and poor, slaveholders and slaves, landed or money aristocracy and the poorer artisans and peasantry, the patricians and plebeians—in one word, the violent antagonism of classes which springs up in society with the rise and expansion of private property, demands the existence of a power which shall take care that the clashing of these conflicting interests be kept within the limits of "law and order." Such a power is the political state, which we see rising in full bloom in old Athens and Rome, in the Sixth and Seventh Century B.C. and glimpses of which can be seen also in Judea. Here and there tribes confederate for mutual advantages, tribes of the same stock, related to each other.

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive Committee.

Session held June 2nd with Comrade Moore in the chair. The financial report for the week ending May 29th shows receipts to the amount of \$18.01; expenditures \$35.47; deficit \$21.46. Comrade Furman is absent and excused. The matter of publishing the Municipal Programme in leaflet form is then taken up and the secretary instructed to take the necessary steps. A committee from the French Branch Section New York calls on account of the subscription lists that have been issued for the French Socialist paper that is to be published. Sections having any of these lists will please return them with the amounts collected.

The secretary reports as to the negotiations with Il Proletario, looking to the translation of the party's constitution into Italian.

Charters were granted to Sections No. 1 and 2 in Shamokin, Pa.

At the session held June 5th, Comrade Stahl was elected to the chair. The financial report for the week ending June 5th shows receipts to have been \$16.10; expenditures \$39.09; balance \$18.10.

A translation of the constitution in Jewish is ordered printed.

The general vote on the proposition relative to the Jewish press is reported closed, the result being 1527 votes in favor and 538 against, which makes these papers official organs of the S. L. P. under party control. It is resolved to so notify the Publishing Association.

It is also resolved to issue a call to the Jewish Comrades in connection with this matter. Section Fredericksburg, Va., reports the expulsion of William Wild for having voted for the capitalist parties at the last election.

Charters are granted to Section Jersey City (Amalgamated) and a French Section in Pittsburgh, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Sec.

Result of the General Vote on the Proposition of the National Executive Committee to place the Jewish Papers, "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiterzeitung" under the control of the Party as Official Party Organs.

Section. For. Against.
Phoenix, Ariz. 11 1
Los Angeles, Cal. 14 2
Oakland, Cal. 1 6
Sacramento, Cal. 6 6
Bridgeport, Conn. 13 ..
Hartford, Conn. 15 11
Danbury, Conn. No. 1. 5 ..
New Britain, Conn. 3 5
New Haven, Conn. No. 1 22 ..
New Haven, Conn. No. 2 3 11
Rockville, Conn. No. 1. 13 ..
South Norwalk, Conn. 15 ..
Waterbury, Conn. 5 ..
Washington, D. C. 20 ..
Belleville, Ill. 12 ..
Chicago, Ill. 72 6
East St. Louis, Ill. 10 ..
New Albany, Ind. 5 ..
Indianapolis, Ind. 17 ..
Louisville, Ky. No. 1. 13 ..
Louisville, Ky. No. 2. 8 ..
Baltimore, Md. 36 ..
Boston, Mass. No. 1. 11 ..
Boston, Mass. No. 2. 25 5
Boston, Mass. No. 3. 28 ..
Holyoke, Mass. No. 1. 15 ..
Holyoke, Mass. No. 2. 1 5
Lynn, Mass. 12 ..
Haverhill, Mass. No. 2. 1 8
Lawrence, Mass. No. 1. 33 ..
Somerville, Mass. 6 ..
Springfield, Mass. 13 ..
Detroit, Mich. 10 5
Minneapolis, Minn. 24 ..
St. Paul, Minn. 17 ..
St. Louis, Mo. 37 ..
Elizabeth, N. J. No. 2. 7 1
Hoboken, N. J. No. 1. 11 ..
Hoboken, N. J. No. 2. 1 9
West Hoboken, N. J. 2 10
Newark, N. J. 23 16
Paterson, N. J. 18 ..
Union Hill, N. J. 8 ..
Buffalo, N. Y. 48 ..
Oneida, N. Y. 11 1
New Rochelle, N. Y. 7 ..
Utica, N. Y. No. 1. 13 ..
Glendale, N. Y. 13 1
Wykoff Heights, N. Y. 12 ..
Rochester, N. Y. 23 6
Yonkers, N. Y. 13 2
Troy, N. Y. 14 ..
Newburgh, N. Y. 9 ..
Albany, N. Y. 11 ..
Woodhaven, N. Y. No. 1 9 ..
Long Island City, N. Y. 14 ..
City of New York 421 308

Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 2. 7 ..
Cleveland, Ohio, No. 3. 7 ..
Canton, Ohio. 13 ..
Altoona, Pa. 12 ..
Allentown, Pa. 10 ..
Patton, Pa. 6 ..
Philadelphia, Pa. 77 26
Pittsburgh, Pa. No. 1. 29 ..
Pittsburgh, Pa. No. 2. 25 ..
Figart, Pa. 9 ..
Providence, R. I. 54 ..
Westerly, R. I. 7 3
Richmond, Va. 8 ..
Milwaukee, Wis. 32 ..

Total 1,527 538

Total vote cast 2,065

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

Massachusetts.

WORCESTER, Mass., June 5.—At our business meeting held June 1st it was voted to expel Thomas P. Abbott from the Section for grossly immoral conduct, and that notice of the same be forwarded to THE PEOPLE for insertion.

JOHN WILLIAM YOUNG,

Secy., Worcester Sec., S. L. P.

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

Reports of Counties.

Bergen County delegate not present. Delegate Schmidt, of Section Carlstadt, reported progress in Bergen County, which had nominated a full

ticket in the fall elections; were about to organize a Section at Ridgefield Park.

Essex reported great progress of and renewed interest in the movement; have opened permanent headquarters, and are having good healthy growth; also have a ladies' organization, a good working Scandinavian branch, an Italian branch of 46 members; German, Hebrew and Slavish branches doing good work; were also to organize a Roumanian branch; held 45 open air meetings during the last fall campaign, where they had held their own.

At the spring elections they had owing to the doubt caused by the changes in the election laws no challengers appointed; could therefore not report as to the result.

Hudson reports having made considerable changes in local organization, all the Sections of Jersey City having surrendered their charters and applied for one charter for the city Section, composed of ward branches, the seventh, eleventh and thirteenth wards being already organized; the others to follow.

Hoboken has organized an American branch, which has 14 active members at present.

Jersey City had suffered with Newark at the spring elections. Hoboken had gone into the municipal election. Hudson had bravely weathered the storm in the fall elections and was proud of the distinction it had then won, that of having polled a greater vote for the electoral than for the Assembly ticket. These cards can be secured from the organizer, at 64 East 4th street, N. Y., top floor, at any time during the day.

Propositions for membership in the party should also be brought to the same address, and from there will be delivered to the Executive Committee, which meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at 184 William street.

Philadelphia, Attention!

PHILADELPHIA, June 7, 1897.—Section Philadelphia will have a meeting to-night, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum. Every member should have his card with him.

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